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NEW INSCRIPTIONS OF NABUNA'ID

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In my *Neu-Babylonische Königsinschriften*, pp. 242–51, I attempted to restore the badly damaged cylinder K. 1688 = I Raw. 69 by means of parallel passages and a few collations made for me by Dr. King, of the British Museum. This cylinder, written in the tenth year of this reign, i.e., 546 B.C.,¹ is remarkable as the only example of a document composed by re-editing several long inscriptions in unrelated connection and with a distinct religious object in view.² The scheme of the author appears to consist in redacting four cylinders which gave an account of the rebuilding of two temples of Shamash in Sippar³ and Larsa,⁴ and two of Anunit in Agade and Sippar-Anunit.³ After each redaction the scribe adds a prayer that Shamash or Anunit (i.e., Ishtar) may appear as intercessor for the king in the presence of the moon-god. This tendency to exalt the moon-god Sin to the first place in the pantheon is characteristic of the state religion in the reign of Nabuna'id. The scribe knew that, in view of the inscriptions at his disposal, he was adding no new historical facts to the literature of his period. For the rebuilding of each temple he himself states that he copied from records in Larsa, Sippar, and Agade. And we have cylinders from two cities to control his statements. Thus in col. I, 1–35 he reproduces a Sippar cylinder concerning the rebuilding of Ebarra to the sun-god. But the prayer in col. I, 22b–35 is wholly different from that attached to the original Sippar records.⁵ Here the scribe seems particularly anxious to secure the protection of Sin for the prince regent Belshazzar.⁶ In fact

¹ See col. I, 60 and note I, 7. For dates of Nabuna'id 556–39, see Weissbach, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1914, 1188.

² See *Neu-Bab. Königsinschriften* (= *VAB.*, IV, 13).

³ Rebuilt in the third year of his reign.

⁴ Rebuilt in the tenth year of his reign.

⁵ *VAB.*, IV, Nbn. 1, II, 47–III, 21; Nbn. 6.

⁶ The prayers on this cylinder are based upon the one attached to the cylinder recording the building of the stage tower of the temple of Sin in Ur, *VAB.*, IV, Nbn. 5.

this is the real motive which inspired this curious composition. From our point of view even the damaged contents of I Raw. 69 were of extraordinary interest, showing us the astronomical influences which were permeating popular religion, and the growing anxiety of the king to pass the crown of an insecure dynasty to his son Belshazzar, and incidentally enabling us to complete our knowledge of lost originals.¹ For all these reasons a complete restoration of this tablet was of prime importance for the history and literature of Babylonia. In Vol. XXXIV of *Cuneiform Texts* Dr. King has published on Plates 26-37 a complete duplicate of this text; a three-column barrel cylinder whose contents, save for a damaged spot in col. I, are well preserved. At the same time Dr. King published on Plates 23-25 fragments of a six-sided prism, badly damaged it is true, but a duplicate of the two cylinders now in our possession. The prism carries just those lines needed to restore the cylinders. We have, therefore, the following splendid text of 70+78+81=229 lines. The curators of the British Museum have now permitted me to collate I Raw. 69; the results are given at the end of this article. The major text, BM. 104738=CT., 34, 26-37, I designate by A. The prism, BM. 63713=CT., 34, 23-25, I designate by B. The cylinder K. 1688 will be referred to by Nbn. 4 or I Raw. 69. For an analysis of the contents see VAB., IV, 48.

This document will notably enrich the sources of this reign. And we may expect also an important text from Professor Scheil, who mentions a new text of Nabuna'id in his *Esarhaddon*, p. 29. Here in the few lines given by Scheil the king shows anxiety for his daughter, whom he named *Bêl-šalti-Nannar*, "The god of the new-moon is lord of victory."²

The transcription follows the system in my *Sumerian Grammar*.

Col. I 1 é-bàr-ra bît ^{ilu}šamši ša sippar-(ki) 2 ša ^{ilu}Nabu-kudurri-ušur šar babili-(ki) šarru maḥ-ri 3 bîti šu-a-tim³ id-ku-'i-ma 4 te-me-en-šu la-bé-ri la ik-šu-du 5 é-bàr-ra šu-a-tim i-pu-uš-ma 6 a-na ^{ilu}šamši

¹ This text is our only source for Eulmash of Agade.

² Several important cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabuna'id have been acquired for the collections in Philadelphia and New Haven, most of which I have seen during my visit to America in 1912. The publication of these texts should not be delayed.

³ We have here an example of an antecedent drawn into the relative clause.

be-lí-šù id-di-in. 7 i-na 52 šanāti¹ ša bīti šu-a-tum i-ga-ra-tu-šu 8 i-ku-
pa-a-ma il-li-ku la-ba-ri-iš. 9 ia-a-ti^{ilu} Nabu-na'id² šar bābili-(ki) 10 [za-
ni-in] é-sag-ila ù é-zi-da ina pal-e-a³ ki-nim 11 [ša^{ilu} sin ù^{ilu} šamaš]
i-ram-mu é-bār-ra šu-a-ti 12 [ad-ki-e-ma hi-iṭ-ṭa-at]-su aḥ-ṭu-uṭ te-me-en-šu
la-bi-ri 13 [ša Šarru-kin⁴ maḥ-ri i-pu-]šu a-mur-m^a eli te-me-en-na
14 [Šarru-kin⁴ i-pu-uš-šu ubana la a-ši-e] ubana la e-ri-bi 15 [uš-šu-šu
ad-di-ma u-kin li-ib-na]-at-su. 16 [gušurē^{isu} erini⁶ ši-ru-tum tar-bit
sada ḥa-ma-]nu⁷ B23 [ù^{mat} kal-dà a-na šu-⁸]lu-li-šu ú-šat-ri-iš B24
[^{isu} dalāti] ^{isu} hi-jāri ša i-ri-is-si-na B25 [ṭa-bi iḥ-zi⁹] kaspi ib-bi ù
B26 [erū nam-ru u-ša-]al-bi-iš-ma B27 [e-ma bābāni-šu u-ra]-at-ta.
[é-bār-ra šu-a-tim¹⁰ 20 ši-pir-šu ú-šak-lil-ma bīti ki-ma ú-mu ú-nam-mir-ma
21 a-na balaṭ napšāti-ia sa-ka-pu^{amel} nakiri-ia 22 a-na^{ilu} šamaš bēli-ia
lu-u a-ki-iš^{ilu} šamaš bēlu rabu-ú 23 ú-mi-šam-mu la na-pār-ka' i-na idi
^{ilu} sin 24 abi a-li-di-ka dam-ka-a-ti é-sag-ila 25 é-zi-da é-gi-š-šir-gal
é-bār-ra é-an-na 26 é-ul-maš šu-bat ilu-ú-ti-šu-nu rabī-ti 27 liš-ša-kin
šap-tuk-ka ki-ma šami-e išdāti-šu-nu li-ki-nu 28 ù pu-luḥ-ti^{ilu} sin bēl
ilāni ù^{ilat} iš-tar¹¹ 29 i-na ša-ma-mu lib-bi nišē-šu šu-uš-ki-na-a-ma]
30 ai ir-ša-a¹² an hi-ṭi-ti iš-da-šu-nu li-kun-nu.¹³ 31 ia-a-ti^{ilu} Nabu-na'id
šar bābili-(ki) 32 pa-liḥ ilu-ú-ti-ku-nu ra-bi-ti 33 la-li-e ba-la-ṭu lu-uš-
bi¹⁴ 34 ù ša^{ilu} Bel-šarri-ušur māru reš-tu-ú ši-ṭ lib-bi-ia 35 šu-ri-ku
ámē-šu ai ir-ša-a' hi-ṭi-tum.

36 ša eli^{aban} a-su-mit-tum ša sippar-(ki)

¹ This account of the restoration of this temple given in the cylinder (Nbn. 1) states that only forty-five years had intervened between the restoration by Nebuchadnezzar and that of Nabuna'id. See Nbn. 1, II, 51. The figures in Nbn. 1 are supported by several variants. Also the figures 52 here are supported by CT., 34, 23, 6, hence a discrepancy of seven years between these two sources of Nabuna'id. This is accounted for by the fact that Nbn. 1 was written in the third year of this reign (see Nbn. 1, I, 28) and our text in the tenth year (see below line 60 and Nbn. 4, I, 65). For the expression *ina šalulti šatti ina kašadu*, VAB., IV, 220, 28; see also CT., 15, 49, I, 7, 11, and Dhorme, *Choix de textes*, p. 128.

² IM-TUK. Var. B has I (=na'id), col. I, 9.

³ Var. B, I, 11, pa-li-e-a ki-i-nim.

⁴ LUGAL-DU.

⁵ B mu-ur.

⁶ Supplied on B, I, 22 from Nbn. 1, III, 1; 2, I, 22; 6, II, 3. Like 2, I, 22, our scribe refrains from stating the number of cedar beams used for this building. Nbn. 1, III, 1 gives the number as 5,000 and 6, II, 3 has 1,050. The discrepancy is probably due to the fact that 1, III, 1 includes in its statement the whole number of beams of all kinds of wood.

⁷ At this point A has a long break; the lines now follow the numbering on B.

⁸ Cf. Nbn. 2, I, 23.

⁹ Traces of ZI on B, 25; cf. VAB., IV, 158, 40 and for line B, 26 see Nbn. 4, I, 1.

¹⁰ The restorations from B, 23-27 would amount to about four lines on A, hence this was probably the end of line 19 on A. From here we follow Nbn. No. 4 = I Raw. 69.

¹¹ Certain on I R, 69 and see line 38 below.

¹² An energetic plural.

¹³ This is the first legible line after the break on A. Dr. King numbered this line 34, in which he estimated too much for the broken section.

¹⁴ Here Nbn. 4 has a break.

37 *é-bār-ra bit* ^{ilu} *šamaš ša larsa-(ki)*¹ *ša ú-mu ru-ḫu-ú-ti* 38 ^{ilu} *sin*
šar ša ilāni bēl ilāni *ù* ^{ilat} *iš-tar* 39 *a-ši-bu-ut ša šami-e* *ù* *irši-tim e-li*
āli 40 *ù bīti ša-a-šu*² *is-bu-su-ma ši-pik ba-aš-ši rabūti* 41 *e-li-šu iš-šap-*
ku-ma la in-nam-ru 42 *ki-iš-ši-šu i-na pal-e* ^{ilu} *Nabu-kudurri-ušur* 43 *šar*
bābili-(ki) šarri maḥ-ri a-lik maḥ-ri-ia 44 *mar* ^{ilu} *Nabu-apal-ušur šar*
bābili-(ki) 45 *i-na ki-bi*³ ^{ilu} *sin* *ù* ^{ilu} *šamaš bēlē-šu* 46 *it-bu-nim-ma*
ša-a-ri ir-bit-ti me-ḫi-e rabūti 47 *ba-aš-ši ša e-li āli* *ù* *bīti šu-a-tim*⁴ *kat-mu*
48 *in-na-si-iḫ-ma ḫi-iḫ-la-tum iḫ-tu-ut-ma* 49 *te-me-en-na é-bār-ra ša*
Bur-na-bur-iā-āš 50 *šar pa-na-a a-lik maḥ-ri-šu*⁵ *i-pu-šu* 51 *i-mur-ma*
e-li te-me-en-na (ša) Bur-na-bur-iā-āš 52 *ubāna la a-ṣi-e ubāna la e-ri-bi*
53 *uš-šu é-bār-ra é-bār-ra šu-a-tim id-di a-na mu-šab* 54 ^{ilu} *šamšu bēlu*
rabu-ú *ù* ^{ilat} *a-a kal-lat na-ram-ti-šu* 55 *bītam i-pu-uš-ma ú-šak-lil ši-pir*⁶ *šù.*
56 ^{ilu} *šamšu be-lum ra-bu-ú* 57 *ḫir-ba-šu ú-šar-ma-a šub-tum.*⁷

58 *ia-a-ti* ^{ilu} *Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki)* 59 *za-nin é-sag-ila* *ù* *é-zi-da*
60 *i-na-an-na i-na šatti* 10-kam *ina pal-e-a*⁸ *ki-nim* 61 *ša* ^{ilu} *sin* *ù*
^{ilu} *šamaš i-ram*⁹ *-mu* ^{ilu} *šamšu bēlu rabu-ú* 62 *iḫ-su-us-su*¹⁰ *-ma šu-bat-su*
ri-eš-ti-ti 63 *i-na šu-ut-ti ša a-mu-ru* *ù* *nišē i-tam*¹¹ *-ma-ru-ni* 64 *a-na eli*
te-me-en-na é-bār-ra la-bi-ri šu-a-tū 65 *é-bār-ra a-na aš-ri-šu*¹² *tūr-ru šu-bat*
ḫu-ub lib-bi-šu 66 *ú-ma*² *-ir-an-ni.* *ia-a-ši na-aḫ-lap-tum zig-gur-rat*
67 *e-li-tū ap-pa-lis-ma ú-šad-kam-ma nišē ma-du-tum* 68 *li-mi-tum bit*
zig-gur-rat šu-a-tum imni šumēli 69 *pa-ni* *ù* *arki aḫ-ḫu-ut-ma é-bār-ra*
70 *a-di si-ḫir-ti-šu a-mur-ma ši-ṭir šu-um*

Col. II 1 *ša Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi šarri maḥ-ri a-lik maḥ-ri-ia* 2 *(ki-rib-*
*šù ap-pa-lis-ma)*¹³ 700 *šanāti la-am Bur-na-bur-iā-āš* 3 *é-bār-ra* *ù* *zig-gur-*
ra-tum e-li te-me-en-na 4 *la-bi-ri é-bār-ra a-na* ^{ilu} *šamši i-pu-šu* 5 *ḫir-*
ba-šu ap-pa-lis-ma iḫ-di lib-bi 6 *im-mi-ru zi-mu-ú-a* 7 *é-bār-ra e-li*
te-me-en-na Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi 8 *šarri maḥ-ri ubāna la a-ṣi-e ubāna la e-ri-bi*
9 *uš-šu-šù ad-di-ma ú-kin li-ib-na-at-su* 10 *é-bār-ra eš-šiš e-pu-uš-ma*¹⁴

¹ First line after break on Nbn. 4. Only 3 lines are completely gone on the cylinder I Raw. 69. The broken passage is estimated five times too high (16 lines) in the text publication of Rawlinson.

² Note here the circumlocution to avoid the 'ā'idun or retrospective construction with the relative *ša*, whose retrospective pronoun should be governed by a preposition. On the analogy of other Semitic languages we expect *ša . . . e-li-ša-a-šu-nu*, "against which." Cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 323 C. Babylonian avoids the 'ā'idun governed by a preposition by repeating the antecedent or its equivalent. With line 40, variant B = CT., 34, 24, II, 1 again sets in.

³ Nbn. 4, I, 51, *ki-bi-it*.

⁸ Vars. *pa-li-e-a*.

⁴ Var. IR. 69 *ša-a-šu*; cf. VAB., IV, 367.

⁹ Var. A, *ra-am*.

⁵ Var. IR. 69 *ia*.

¹⁰ Var. B, II, 25 omits *su*.

⁶ Both variants *pi-ir*.

¹¹ Var. B, *ta-am*.

⁷ A, II, 20, *tū*.

¹² This is the last legible word on B, II.

¹³ These two words are wrongly placed here and are repeated in their proper position in line 5. *ša* has been dropped out at the beginning of line 2. The text is a redaction of Nbn. 3, II, 20-26.

¹⁴ Var. Nbn. 4, II, 11 omits *ma*.

ú-šak-lil-ši-pir-šù 11 gušurê¹ i²u erini ši-ru-tum tar-bit³ ša⁴ ha-ma-nu 12 a-na
 su-lu-li-šù ú-šat-ri-iš⁵ i²u dalāti i²u hijāru 13 ša i-ri-is-si-na ſa-a-bi e-ma
 bābāni-šù ú-rat-ti 14 bītu šu-a-tum e-pu-uš¹ ki-ma ſu-mu ſu-nam-mir-ma
 15 a-na i²u šamšu bēlu rabu-ú bēli-ia a-na balat napšāti-ia 16 sa-kap
 (amel) nakri-ia lu e-pu-uš¹ i²u šamšu bēlu ra-bu-u 17 ſu-mi-šam-ma² la
 na-pār-ka-’ i-na ma-ḥar i²u sin 18 a-bi a-li-di-ka i-na ni-ip-ḥi ſu-ri-bi
 19 dam-ka-a-ti é-sag-ila é-zi-da 20 é-giš-šir-gal é-bār-ra é-an-na é-ul-maš
 21 šu-bat i²u ſu-ti-ku³ nu rabāti⁴ lis-ša-kin šap-tuk-ka 22 ki-ma šami-e
 iš-da-šu-nu li-kun-nu⁵ 23 ia-a-ti i²u Nabu-na’id šar bābili-(ki) pa-liḥ i²u-
 ti-ku⁵ nu rabī-tū 24 la-li-e ba-la-ṭi lu-uš-bi ſu-ša i²u Bēl-šarri-ušur 25 māru
 reš-tu-ú ši-it lib-bi-ia 26 šu-ri-ku ſu-mē-šù ai ir-ša-’ ḥi-ṭi-ti.

27 ša eli⁶ a-ban a-su-mīt-tum ša larsa-(ki)

28 te-me-en-na é-ul-maš ša a-ga-dé-(ki) 29 ša⁶ ul-tu pa-ni Šarru-kin šar
 bābili-(ki) 30 ſu-ri-bi Na-ram-¹u sin māri-šù šarri šu-ut maḥ-ri 31 ſu-a-di
 pa-li-e i²u Nabu-na’id šar bābili-(ki) 32 la in-nam-ru Ku-ri-gal-zu šar
 bābili-(ki) 33 šarru šu-ut maḥ-ri ſu-ba-’-i-ma 34 te-me-en-na é-ul-maš la
 ik-šu-ud 35 ki-a-am iš-ṭur-ma iš-kun um-ma te-me-en-na 36 é-ul-maš
 ſu-ba-’-i-ma ad-lul-ma la ak-šu-ud 37 i²u Ašur-aḥi-iddin šar mat aššur u
 i²u Ašur-bāni-apli māra-šù 38 ša i²u sin šar ilāni kiš-šat mātāti ſu-šat-li-
 mu-šu-nu-ti-ma 39 te-me-en-na é-ul-maš ſu-ba-’-u la ik-šu-du-’u 40 iš-
 ṭu-ru-ma iš-ku-nu um-ma 41 é-ul-maš šu-a-ti ſu-ba-’-ma 42 la ak-šu-ud
 i²u šar-ba-tum ſu-šat maš-tu-ú 43 ak-šiṭ-ma te-me-e é-ul-maš 44 lu-ú e-pu-
 uš-ma a-na i²u ištār⁷ a-ga-dé-(ki) beltu rabī-tu belti-ia 45 lu-ú ad-di-in
 i²u Nabu-kudurri-ušur šar bābili-(ki) 46 māri¹ Nabu-apal-ušur šarri maḥ-ri
 um-ma-ni-šù 47 ma-du-tum id-kam-ma te-me-en é-ul-maš šu-a-tū 48 ſu-
 ba-’-i-ma id-lul-ma iḥ-ṭu-uf-ma 49 iš-pil⁸-ma te-me-en-na é-ul-maš la ik-šu-ud.
 50 ia-a-ti i²u Nabu-na’id šar bābili-(ki) 51 za-nin é-sag-ila ſu-é-zi-da 52 i-na
 pal-e-a ki-nim ina pu-luḥ-tū ša i²u ištār⁷ a-ga-dé-(ki) belti-ia 53 bi-ri ab-ri-
 e-ma i²u šamaš ſu-ri-bi i²u rammān 54 i-pu-lu-’-in-ni an-na ki-i-ni 55 ša
 ka-ša-du te-me-en-na é-ul-maš šu-a-ti 56 šēr dum-ki i-na⁹ šēr bibbi¹⁰-ia

¹ Var. Nbn. 4, II, 15 adds -ma.

⁵ Var. li-kin; see also col. I, 27.

² Var. mu.

⁶ Omitted on var.

³ Var. šu. For line 23 IR. 69 has ilātika.

⁷ dingir innini.

⁴ GAL-MEŠ.

⁸ This appears to be preferable to *iš-ne*, my reading in VAB., 246, 44. The preterite of this verb *šāpālu* is not attested, but the present form *išappil* demands a preterite *išpil*; see for *išappil*, Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 1083, where the permansive *šāpil* is attested. On the other hand, a permansive *šāpul* is well attested from the fem. sing. *ša-pu-lat*, CT., 28, 16, 82-3-23, 84, lines 11-13; CT., 27, 45, K. 4129, 24 f.; also K. 4071, 7 f. This corresponds to the Arabic *šafūla*, whereas the permansive *šāpil* corresponds to Arabic *šafila*, imp. *iašfil*. Hence we should expect also an imperfect *išpul* to correspond to *šāpul* perm. This verb has in Assyrian a double system: (1) *šāpālu*, pret. *išpil*, perm. *šāpil*, pres. *išappil*, and (2) *šāpālu*, pret. *išpul*,* perm. *šāpul*, pres. *išappul*.*

⁹ Nbn. 4, II, 51 should be corrected Δ to \blacktriangleright ina.

¹⁰ For this sign a form of LU-BAD, with \blacktriangleright written within LU, see King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 292, 109; 306, 36; 380, n. 4; 311, n. 11.

iš¹-kun 57 *amel* nišê-ia² ma-du-tum ú-ma-'ir-ma 58 a-na bu-'i te-me-en-na é-ul-maš³ šu-a-ti 59 šalaš-ta šanāti ina hi-iṭ-ṭa-tum ša⁴ *ilu* Nabu-kudurri-ušur 60 šar bābili-(ki) aḫ-ṭu-ut⁵ im-nu šu-me-liš⁶ pa-ni 61 ù dr-ku ú-ba-'i-ma la ak-šu-ud 62 ki-a-am iḫ-bu-ni um-ma te-me-en-na šu-a-tū 63 nu-ú-ba-'i-ma la ni-mur ra-a-du ša mē zunni 64 ib-ba-ši-ma hi-pi iš-kun-ma ni-mur-ma 65 ki-a-am ak-bi-šu-nu-ti 66 um-ma hi-iṭ-ṭa-tum ina hi-pi šu-a-ti 67 hu-ut-ṭa-a-ma a-di te-me-en-na hi-pi 68 šu-a-ti ta-ta-ma-ra'⁷ 69 hi-pi šu-a-ti aḫ-ṭu-ṭu-ma 70 te-me-en-na é-ul-maš ša Na-ram-*ilu* sin 71 šarri maḥ-ri mu-šab *ilat* ištār⁸ a-ga-dé-(ki) 72 *ilat* a-na-na *ilat* a-nu-ni-tum ù ilāni šu-ut é-ul-maš 74 iḫ-šu-du-ma iḫ-bu-ni 75 iḫ-di lib-bi im-mi-ru pa-nu-a 76 eli te-me-en-na é-ul-maš šu-a-ti 77 ubāna la a-ši-e ubāna la e-ri-bi 78 te-me-en-na šu-a-ti di-'i-um⁹ parakkū

Col. III 1 a-di šitta(ta) zig-gur-ri-e-ti-šu 2 ad⁸-di-ma u-kin li-ib-na-at-su. 3 ta-am-la' ú-mal-li-šu-ma 4 e-li pa-ni kaḫ-ḫar aš-kun-šu. 5 aš-šu la ma-še-e te-me-en-na é-ul-maš 6 é-ul-maš e-pu-uš-ma ú-šak-lil ši-pir-šu 7 gušurrē *isu* erini ši-ru-tum tar-bit^{mat} ha-ma-nu 8 a-na šu-lu-li-šu ú-šat-ri-iš⁹ *isu* dalāti *isu* liṭari 9 ša i-ri-is-si-na ṭa-a-bi ina bābāni-šu

¹ So also IR, 69, II, 51.

² Var. Nbn. 4, II, 51, *amel* šabê-ia, written GALU-ŠAB-ḪI-A.

³ Var. IR. 69 omits.

⁵ Var. IR. lu.

⁴ Var. IR. adds -ma.

⁶ *ingir innini*.

⁷ *dū*, *du'u*, *dī'u*, is a loan-word from Sumerian *dū*, "hill, high place," see *Sum. Grammar*, 210. The sign originally employed is the picture of a hill, or hill sanctuary (*bamatu*, 𒂍𒍪). This is clearly the original meaning of the sign 𒂍𒍪, i.e., *tilu*, "hill," as in Eannatum, *Galet*, A, 3, 21. The loan-word may be written with *dū*=*dū* ša ili, "high sanctuary of god," *CT*, 13, 11 b 11; or *dū*=*sagū*, a synonym of *du'u*, as in *PSBA.*, 1910, 118, line 10. In temples *dū* probably means the altar-like pedestal in the chapel (*papaḫu*) on which stood the statue of a god. The part of the chapel in which stood this "high altar" was called the *parakku*, shrine. Each temple had at least one *papaḫu* or chapel for the god of that temple and one *dū* or high altar for his statue. But this chapel had several shrines, *parakkê*; only the central shrine at the end of the chapel possessed a high altar, or pedestal with degrees which probably resembled our high altars. [Of course no animal sacrifices were permitted there and I use the word "altar" because of the probable resemblance to our modern Christian conception of that term.] Esagila in Babylon possessed at least three chapels, Ekua for Marduk, Kaduglisug for Zarpanit, and Ezida for Nebo, and each possessed its high altar. Thus we read in the De Clercq cylinder of Asurbanipal, how he completed Esagila, an undertaking begun by his father Asarhaddon; *na úmê-šu-nu di-'a-ni u parakkê ša situti é-sag-ila ki-i bamāti-šu labirati ina ašri-šu-nu lu-u ad-di ana šatti* (II. 18-20), "In those days the high altars and the shrines which remained of Esagila, even as its ancient high places in their places I founded forevermore." Although the syllabars confound *dū*, *dī'u*, with *parakku*, yet they must be distinguished in architectural descriptions. Thus *VAB.*, IV, 128, 57, and 158, 43 speak of the chapel of Nebo in Ezida at Barsippa; *du-ú parakkê kirbi-šu*, "the high altar and the shrines in it, i.e., in the *papaḫu* or chapel"; *du-ú-um parakkê*, "the high altar and shrines." And the same chapel is described in *Neb.*, 44, p. 204; *du-'ú-um mášab ilu nabium bēli širim ina é-šid-dū-an-na-ki papaḫi*, "The high altar, seat of Nebo my mighty lord in E-šidduannaki the chapel (of his lordship with pitch and burnt-brick I installed like a mountain." Of special interest is *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, VI, 177; 300 *šubat a-si-ru a-na dul-lu ša di-'i-i ša bti úumar-bitim*, "Three hundred *asiru*-garments for the service of the high altar of the temple of Mar-biti."

⁸ So read.

10 *lu-uš-ziz bīti šu-a-ti ki-ma ū-mu* 11 *ū-nam-mir-ma a-na* ^{ilat} *ištar*¹
a-ga-dé-(ki) 12 *belti rabī-ti belti-ia a-na balaṭ napšāti-ia* 13 *sa-kap*
amel nakri-ia lu-ū e-pu-uš. 14 ^{ilat} *ištar a-ga-dé-(ki)* *beltu rabī-tum belti-ia*
15 *i-na ma-ḥar* ^{ilu} *sin a-bi a-li-di-ka*² 16 *dam-ḥa-a-ti é-sag-ila é-zi-da*
17 *é-giš-šir-gal é-bār-ra é-an-na é-ul-maš* 18 *šu-bat ilu-ū-ti-ku-nu rabāti*
^{ilu} *Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki)* 21 *pa-liḥ ilu-ū-ti-ku-nu rabī-ti* 22 *la-li-e*
lu-uš-bi ša ^{ilu} *Bēl-šarri-ušur māru reš-tu-u* 23 *ši-it lib-bi-ia šu-ri-ku ūmē-šu*
24 *ai ir-šā-'a ḥi-ti-ti*

25 *ša eli* ^{aban} *a-su-mit-tum ša a-ga-dé-(ki)*

26 *é-ul-maš ša sippar-(ki)* ^{ilat} *a-nu-ni-tum* 27 *ša* ^{ilu} *sin šar ilāni eli āli ū*
bīti ša-a-šu 28 *is-bu-su ū-šad-kam-ma* ^{ilu} *Sin-aḥē-erib šar mat āš-šur*
29 ^{amel} *nakru za-ma-nu-ū āli ū bīti ša-a-šu ū-šā-lik kar-mu-tam* 30 *i-na-*
an-na ia-a-ti ^{ilu} *Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki)* 31 *za-nin é-sag-ila ū é-zi-da*
32 *ina pal-e-a ki-nim ša* ^{ilu} *sin ū* ^{ilu} *šamaš i-ram-mu-uš* 33 ^{ilat} *a-nu-ni-*
tum beltum rabī-tum belti-ia a-ši-bat é-ul-maš 34 *i-na*³ *ki-būt* ^{ilu} *sin šar*
ilāni abi a-li-di-šu 35 *a-na āli ū bīti šu-a-tum tar-šu u-sa-li-mu* 36 *ina*
*šutti i-na šat*⁴ *mu-ši a-na e-piš é-ul-maš* 37 *tu-šab-ra-an-ni šu-ut-ti iḥ-di*
lib-bi 38 *im-mi-ru zi-mu-ū-a ū-šad-kam-ma* 39 ^{amel} *šabē-[a]*⁵ *ma-du-tum*
te-me-en é-ul-maš šu-a-ti 40 *aḥ-ḫu-uṭ-ma šal-mu ši-ṭir šāmi ša Ša-ga-rak-ti-*
šur-ia-aš 41 *šar bābili-(ki)* *šarri maḥ-ri ina ḥi-iṭ-ṭa-tum*⁶ *šu-a-ti* 42 *a-mur-*
ma ki-i an-na-'a 43 *ina eli šal-mu ši-ṭir šāmi-šu ša-ṭir* 44 *um-ma Ša-ga-*
rak-ti-šur-ia-aš re'i ki-nim 45 *rubā na-a-du mi-gir* ^{ilu} *šamaš ū* ^{ilat} *a-nu-ni-*
tum a-na-ku. 46 *i-nu* ^{ilu} *šamaš ū* ^{ilat} *a-nu-ni-tum a-na be-lu-ut ma-a-ti*⁷
47 *šu-um im-bu-ū šir-ri*⁸ *ka-la nišē ḫatu-ū-a* 48 *uš-ma-al-lu-ū i-nu-šu*
é-bār-ra 49 *bīt* ^{ilu} *šamši ša sippar-(ki)* *bēli-ia ū é-ul-maš* 50 *bīt* ^{ilat} *a-nu-*
ni-tum ša sippar-(ki) ^{ilat} *a-nu-ni-tum belti-ia* 51 *ša iš-tu*⁹ *za-bu-um*¹⁰ *ina*
*la-bar*³ *ū-mu i-ga-ru-šu-nu* 52 *i-ḫu-up-ma i-ga-ri-šu-nu ag-gur*⁴ 53 *uš-*

¹ *d. innini.*

² *Sic!* Ishtar is addressed here, but the text has *ka* not *ki*.

³ Here begins Nbn. 4, III, 15.

⁴ *šat*, see for this phrase, "the of the night," *AJSL.*, XXXI, 278.

⁵ Probably omitted by the scribe who having written *HI-A* for the plural of *ŠAB* supposed he had written *A*, the possessive; cf. col. II, 57, and variant.

⁶ The singular is demanded by *šuatī*; var. *ḥi-iṭ-ṭa-a-ti*, which must be considered as fem. sing. despite the long vowel *-āti*. For *ātu*, fem. sing., cf., *šam-ḥa-a-ti*, acc. sing., *KB.*, VI, 138, 40; *aš-ša-a-tu*, fem. sing., *V R.*, 12, No. 3, 9; *ir-ḡi-e-ti rapašti* (*irḡēti* = *irḡiti* = *irḡatu*), *KB.*, VI, 78, 17; and other examples cited by Jensen, *KB.*, VI, 37, 6.

⁷ Var. Nbn. 4, III, 25, *KÜR* = *māti*.

⁸ Var. *ḡi-ri-ti*; *ḡirritu* generally means the cord passed through the nose of a captive by which his captor led him. Sum. *šū-ka*, "cord of the face, *ašlu ša pani*," *SAI.*, 8012, and Thureau-Dangin, *JA.*, 1909, 86. A synonym is *šummānu*, "nose cord," not "fetter," as in the lexicons.

⁹ Var. *ul-tu*.

¹⁰ This text omits the determinative of person. Here sets in Var. B, col. V, *CT.*, 34, 25.

³ Both vars. *la-ba-ru*.

⁴ Vars. *aḫ-ḫu-up*.

ši¹-šū-nu e-ib-tu² e-pi-ri-šū-nu as-suh³ 54 parakkī⁴-šū-nu aš-sur ú-šu-ra-ti-šū-nu u-sal-lim 55 uš-mal-lu uš-ši-šū-nu e-pi-ri kišī u-tir 56 i-ga-ri-šū-nu a-na aš-ri-šū-nu ú-nam-mir 57 tabra⁵-ia-šū-nu e-li pa-ni ú-šā-tir 58 a-na ša-at-ti⁶ i^{lu} šamaš u a-nu-ni-tum a-na ip-še-ti-ia 59 šu-ku-ra-a-ti lib-ba-ku-nu li-iḫ-du-ma li-ri-ku ūmê-ia⁷ 60 li-id-di-šū balaṭi ū-mu ri-šā-a-tū arḫu ta-ši-la-a-ti 61 šanāti hegalli a-na ši-riḫ-ti⁸ liš-ru-ku-nu 62 di-in⁹ kit-ti mi-šā-ri laḫ-ba-a ū sa-li-mu 63 li-šab-šu-ma ma-ti-ma.

an-na-a ši-tir šāmi šā Sa-ga-rak-ti-šur-ia-aš 64 šar bābili-(ki) šarri maḫ-ri šā é-ul-maš šā sippar¹⁰-(ki) 65 ^{ilat} a-nu-ni-tum i-pu-šū te-me-en-šū la-bi-ri ap-pa-lis-ma 66 ubāna la a-ši-e ubāna la e-ri-bi eli te-me-en-na la-bi-ri 67 uš-šū-šū ad-di-ma ú-kin libna¹¹-at-su é-ul-maš ši-pir-šū ú-šak-lil-ma 68 ki-ma ū-mu ú-nam-mir-ma a-na ^{ilat} a-nu-ni-tum belti rabī-ti belti-ia 69 a-na balaṭ napšāti-ia sa-kap ^{amel} nakri-ia lu-ú e-pu-uš

70 ^{ilat} a-nu-ni-tum beltu rabī-tū¹² ina ma-ḫar¹³ i^{lu} sin abi a-li-di-ka 71 damḫāti é-sag-ila é-zi-da é-giš-šir-gal é-bār-ra é-an-na 72 é-ul-maš šu-bat ilū-ti-ku-nu¹⁴ rabāti liš-šā-kin šap-tuk-ka ki-ma šāmi-e 73 išda¹⁵-šū-nu li-kun-nu u pu-luḫ-ti i^{lu} sin bēl ilāni ina šā-ma-mu 74 lib-bi nišē-šū šu-uš-ki-na-a-ma ai ir-šā-'a ḫi-ti-ti išdā-šū-nu 75 li-kun-nu ia-a-ti

¹ B omits *ši*. Possibly *UŠ* is an ideogram for *uššū*; *uš* = *emdu*, "foundation," *RA.*, 9, 77, II, 15; in Gudea, C 3, 6 *uš-bi mu-azag*, "he has cleansed its foundation," *uš* refers to the foundation of a temple. The noun *uššū*, gen. acc. *ušše*, *ušše* has a long final vowel, which Delitzsch, *H. W.*, 150, has explained as a plural of intensity. In any *ušše-šu-nu* is here treated as singular as the sing. adj. *ēbtu*, *ēbti* proves. On the other hand, *uš-šu-šu innadū*, Tig. VII, 70, shows that *uššū* is regarded as a plural. Delitzsch's view is perhaps the true one, for it defends the Semitic derivation of *uššū*, which seems obvious from the verb *ašāšu*, and the Hebrew and Arabic cognates. Were *uššū* a singular, the *ū* must be explained as the ending of a loan-word *uš* = *uššū*. Loan-words in *ū* invariably form their plurals in all cases in *ē* for the masc., hence *uššū* pl. cannot possibly be the pl. of a loan-word. Note *igarū*, line 51, which is clearly a collective pl. construed with a sing. verb *ikāp*, hence *ušše* pl. construed with a sing. adj. *ēptu* need not cause difficulty.

² Vars. *e-ib-i*. *ēbtu* is probably an adj. from *abātu* "to destroy"; cf. *ablatu*, pl. *ablati*, ruins, *VAB.*, IV, 98, II, 10, 13; 110, 29; 142, 9; see Thureau-Dangin, *RA.*, 11, 95.

³ Var. B, *su-uḫ*.

⁴ *BARA*, singular, but the sense requires a plural. In *VAB.*, IV, 248, 32, I denied the possibility of reading *BARA* in this damaged line of I R, 69, but this statement was needlessly positive and erroneous.

⁵ *IGI-E(ū)*; for *ū* = *tabratu*, without augment *dī*, Br. 9360, see Gudea, Cyl. B 1, 4, *ū-e gub-ba*, "which stands as an object of admiration."

⁶ Var. B, *tū*.

⁸ I R, 69, III, 39, *tū*.

⁷ Vars. *ia*.

⁹ Vars. *dī-i-ni*.

¹⁰ *UD-KIB-NUN-ki*; var. Nbn. 4, III, 42, *si-p-pār-ki*.

¹¹ *MURUG*, var. *li-ib-na*.

¹² Var. *ra-bi-ti*.

¹³ Var. *idi*.

¹⁴ Var. *ilu-ū-ti-ka*. The variant, Nbn. 4, III, 52, applies *šubat ilātika* to Eulmaš alone; hence *šubat* in this version is a singular. But the same text has *GAL-MES* which should be singular *rabī-ti*, if the scribe were consistent.

¹⁵ Var. *iš-da*.

ilu Nabu-na'id¹ šar bâbili-(ki) pa-liḫ *ilu-ú-ti-ku-nu* rabī-tū² 76 la-li-e balati
lu-uš-bi ù ša *ilu* Bêl-šarri-ušur mārū reš-tu-u³ 77 ši-it lib-bi-ia šu-ri-ku
âmê-šū ai ir-ša-'a ḫi-ṭi-ti

78 ša eli *aban* a-su-mit-tum ša sip-pár⁴ *ilat* a-nu-ni-tum

79 e-piš-tū *ilu* sin bêl ilāni ù⁵ *ilat* iš-tar⁶ 80 ša šami-e u irši-tim⁷ ša ina
eli *aban* a-su-mi-ni-e-tū⁸ 81 ša ga-la-la aš-ṭu-ru-ma a-na ša-me-e ša nisē
ār-ki-tum⁹

Col. I 1 As to Ebarra, temple of Shamash of Sippar, 2 that temple which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a former king, 3 had torn down, 4 and whose ancient foundation record had not attained, 5 that Ebarra he built 6 and gave it unto Shamash his lord. 7 Within 52 years the walls of that temple 8 sagged and went to decay. 9 I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 10 [care-taker] of Esagila and Ezida, in my legitimate reign,¹⁰ 11 [which Sin and Shamash] love, that Ebarra 12 [I tore down] and excavated its [excavation]. Its ancient foundation record 13 [which the former Sargon¹¹] had made I saw and upon the foundation record 14 (which) [Sargon had made, not a finger-breadth too far above,] not a finger-breadth too far beyond, 15 [its foundation I laid and I fixed] its bricks. 16 [Lofty beams of cedar, product of Mount Amanus] and B23 [the Chaldean land] I caused to be erected for its roof. B24 [Doors] of *umbarked* cedar,¹² whose odor is B25 [sweet, with a plating of] bright silver and

¹ I; var. *IM-TUK*.

² Var. *ti*.

³ Var. *ú*.

⁴ Var. I R, 69, III, 62, *UD-KIB-NUN-(ki)*.

⁵ Var. Nbn. 4, III, 63, *u*.

⁶ Var. *ibid.*, ~~W~~, followed by *a-ši-bu-ut* which is omitted on A.

⁷ Line 80=B, col. VI, 1.

⁸ Var. B -ni-tum; I R, 69, 64, -mi-ni-e-tum. *asumiltu*=*asuminta*, but the etymology is still obscure. See *VAB.*, IV, 24, 6, 28, note.

⁹ Vars. *ár-ku-tum*. *arktu* is a variant of *arkātu*=*arkai-ātu*, fem. pl. of *arká*, used as an abstract noun; Nbn. 9, II, 23, *ámu ar-kú-tu*, "days of longevity." Correct my text (printer's error) in Nbn. 9, II, 23, *ku* not *ki*. Hence *arkātu* is also an abstract noun and not a masc. pl. of *arká*.

¹⁰ *palú* means originally "dynasty," not "reign," and is a loan-word from *bal*, *pal*, "to change," or noun "the change." For the original use of *bal* see Hilprecht, *BE.*, XX, No. 47, 7, *uri-ki bal-bi ba-an-kur nam-lugal-bi i-si-in-(ki) šu-ba-ti*, "At Ur the dynasty was changed and Isin seized the royal power."

¹¹ Nbn. 1, II, 57; 6, I, 38 give *Narām-Sin* as the founder.

¹² *erin-bār-(ra)*, Meissner, *SAT.*, 8310. *erin-bār-bār-ra*, *Gud. Cyl. A*, 14, 15; cf. 22, 4, here used for constructing objects to adorn the temple. Meissner-Rost, *Sanherib*, 52, n. 13=KB., II, 112, 49, *ilu* li-ia-ru is employed for making doors, and in *ibid.* 10, line 20, it is a variant on *er-ni*, cedar, hence a kind of cedar, whose sweet odor is mentioned by Asurbanipal, *V R.*, 10, 99, and *III R.*, 38, b, 31. *li-ia-ru* is an aromatic cedar in *CT.*, 18, 38, 40, *ri-ki bu-ra-ši ku-ku-ru li-ia-ru*, "aromat of cypress, chickory and *li-ia-ru*," and in Nikolski, *Documents de la plus ancienne époque chaldéenne*, 301, I, 3, *erin-bār-bār-kaš*, or "liquor of the *lijaru*," figures in a list of aromatic preparations. *erin-bār=ti-ia-lu*, *MVG.*, 1913, Pt. 2, pp. 21, 42; the tree *meš-bār=ti-ia-lu*, *ibid.*, 37, and the *meš* tree (=mešu) is probably the ash; *ibid.*, 26, 64, the "sweet *šarbatu*" is called *tijātu* and

B26 [shining bronze] I caused to be overlaid, B27 [and I fitted in its gates. That Ebarra—

20 its work I caused to be completed and the temple like daylight I caused to shine. 21 For the life of my soul, for the annihilation of my enemies 22 unto Shamash my lord I gave it. O Shamash, great lord, 23 daily without ceasing at the side of Sin 24 the father thy begetter may the good done unto Esagila,¹ 25 Ezida,² Egišširgal,³ Ebarra,⁴ Eanna⁵ 26 Eulmaš,⁶ abodes of their mighty divinities,⁷ 27 be present on thy lips. Like heaven may they secure their foundations, 28 and let them create in the domes of heaven reverence for Sin lord of the gods and of Ishtar 29 among his people.] 30 May they not have any⁸ defilement. May their foundations be secure. 31 As for me Nabu-na'id king of Babylon, 32 worshiper of your mighty divinities, 33 may I enjoy the fulness of life, 34 and lengthen ye the days of Belshazzar, the first son, offspring of my loins. 35 May he not have any sin.

36 That which was (written) on an inscription in Sippar.⁹

37 As to Ebarra, temple of Shamash him of Larsa, against which city and temple 38 Sin king of the gods, lord of the gods, and Ishtar, 39 the dwellers of heaven and earth, 40 were angered, great heaps of sand 41 were heaped upon it, and its chambers appeared no more. 42 In the reign of Nebuchadnezzar 43 king of Babylon, a former king, my predecessor, 44 son of Nabupolassar king of Babylon, 45 by the command¹⁰ of Sin and Shamash his lords 46 arose the four winds, great hurricanes 47 and the sand which covered over the city and that temple 48 being

according to Holma, *Kleine Beiträge*, 80, *garbatu* is the elm; *ibid.*, 65, the "*garbatu* of the field" is called *tiġālu*, hence *tiġālu* a part or kind of ash, elm(?), and cedar(?), or product supplied by these, perhaps "bast." But *tiġālu*=*tiġār*=*erinnu pišā* or "white cedar," i.e., "white of cedar?" (II, R, 23, cf. 23). Hence *liġāru*=*tiġāru*, *tiġālu* "aromatic bark," and thence "aromatic wood with bark," i.e., wood employed with the bark still on it. Of these forms perhaps *tiġāru* is original, in which case the word is connected with *ttru*, "covering," *VAB.*, IV, 371. I would suggest that *dalāti liġāri* be rendered "doors of cedar sticks unbarked."

¹ Temple of Marduk in Babylon.

² Temple of Nebo in Barsippa.

³ Temple of Sin in Ur.

⁴ Temple of Shamash in Sippar and Larsa.

⁵ Temple of Ishtar in Erech.

⁶ Temple of Ishtar in Sippar-Anunit. For Eulmaš as the temple of Ishtar see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 99, and K. 4608 Obv. 7 (a psalm to Ishtar) in IV Raw., corrections to 19 No. 3.

⁷ I.e., the divinities of the aforementioned temples.

⁸ *an*; see Delitzsch, *H.W.*, 94. *an* is an obsolete demonstrative pronoun, a strengthened form of which is *annū*; *an* is parallel to *šā* (also by origin a pronoun) in *šā pani*, "the of former time," etc.; *an* is cognate to Hebrew אָן. See Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, 317.

⁹ See for *asumittu*, *VAB.*, IV, 246, 28.

¹⁰ *ġibi*, infinitive.

hurled away, he conducted excavations. 49 The foundation record of Ebarra which Burnaburiash, 50 a king of former times, my predecessor, had made, 51 he saw and upon the foundation record of Burnaburiash, 52 not a finger-breadth too high, not a finger-breadth beyond, 53 the foundation of that Ebarra he laid. For the dwelling of 54 Shamash the great lord and of Aja, the bride, his beloved, 55 that temple he made and caused its work to be completed. 56 Shamash the great lord 57 therein he caused to take (his) habitation.

58 Me Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 59 care-taker of Esagila and Ezida, 60 now in the tenth year, in my legitimate reign, 61 which Sin and Shamash love, when Shamash the great lord 62 thought about¹ his first dwelling,² 63 by a dream which I perceived³ and which the people perceived for themselves, 64 he sent me to restore Ebarra upon the foundation record of that ancient Ebarra 65 even unto its place, the abode which gives joy to his heart. 66 I beheld the ruins that covered the lofty ziggurat, 67 and caused to be summoned numerous people. 68 The inclosure of that temple (and) ziggurat right and left 69 in front and behind I excavated; Ebarra 70 unto its extent I examined and the writing of the name of

Col. II 1 Hammurapi a former king, my predecessor 2 (therein I beheld) who 700 years before Burnaburiash 3 had made Ebarra, and the ziggurat upon the ancient foundation record 4 for Shamash therein I beheld and my heart was glad.

6 My countenance brightened. 7 Of Ebarra upon the foundation record of Hammurapi, 8 a former king, not a hand-breadth too high, not a hand-breadth beyond 9 I laid the foundation and fixed securely its bricks. 10 Ebarra I made anew and completed its work. 11 Lofty cedar beams, the product of Mount Amanus, 12 I caused to be erected for its roof. Doors of *unbarked*-cedars 13 whose odor is sweet I fitted in its gates. 14 That temple I built and made it glorious like the day. 15 For Shamash the great lord, my lord, for the life of my soul 16 to annihilate my foe(s) verily I built it.

¹ The text *ihsus-ma* is preferable, making an independent verb here. The sentence then reads, "As for me Nbn. . . . Shamash the great lord thought about his first dwelling." A conjunction *ša*, "when," must be supplied to explain *ihsussu-ma* = *ihsusu* of the original record, Nbn. 3, II, 2. The *su* is here both for purpose of accent and to indicate a subjunctive. It does not appear to be the suffix *-šu*.

² Ebarra of Larsa was a Sumerian foundation which the Semites copied at Agade.

³ *amāru*, originally "read aloud," "interpret," is the Hebrew אָמַר, "speak," but more often degraded in Babylonian to the meaning "see." Cf. *amuru* here with *iṭṭulu* (*naṭālu*), *VAB.*, IV, 278, 22, of "seeing a vision." *amāru* frequently retains the meaning "read"; *narā tamar-ma tašasū*, "having read the inscription thou shalt read aloud"; see for this distinction of *amāru* and *šasū*, Jensen, *KB.*, VI, 556. For the I² form in the sense of "read, consider," see *VAB.*, IV, 310, and compare Arabic أَمَرَ in the ifta'al form, "to seek advice," "inquire into." The translation "see" rarely does full justice to this verb.

"O Shamash, great lord, 17 daily without ceasing in the presence of Sin 18 the father thy begetter, at sunrise and sunset 19 may the good deeds done unto Esagila, Ezida, 20 Egišširgal, Ebarra, Eanna, and Eulmash, 21 the majestic habitations of your divinities, be present on thy lips. 22 Like the heavens may their foundations be secure. 23 I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, worshiper of your mighty divinities, 24 would enjoy fulness of life and lengthen the days of Belshazzar, 25 the first son, offspring of my loins. 26 May he not have any sin."

27 What was (written) on an inscription in Larsa.

28 The foundation record of Eulmash of Agade, 29 which since the age of Sargon king of Babylon 30 and Naram-Sin his son, a king of former time, 31 and even unto the reign of Nabuna'id king of Babylon 32 had not come to light, Kurigalzu king of Babylon, 33 a king of former time, sought for. 34 The foundation record of Eulmash he attained not. 35 Thus he wrote, thus he did. "The foundation record 36 of Eulmash I sought for, I expended pious toil but attained not." 37 Asarhaddon king of Assyria and Asurbanipal his son 38 to whom Sin king of the gods had intrusted the subjection of the lands, 39 searched for the foundation record of Eulmash and attained it not. 40 They wrote, they did as follows: 41 "That Eulmash I searched for 42 and attained not. *Elm* and *maštū* wood 43 I cut and a likeness of Eulmash 44 I made; to Ishtar of Agade, the great lady, my lady 45 I gave." Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, 46 son of Nabopolassar, a former king, summoned his numerous skilled workmen, 47 and searched for the foundation record of Eulmash; he spent pious labor, made excavations, 49 and went deep, but the foundation record of Eulmash he attained not. 50 I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 52 care-taker of Esagila and Ezida, 52 in my legitimate reign, in the fear of Ishtar of Agade, my lady, 53 saw a vision.¹ Shamash and Ramman 54 answered me a trustworthy affirmation. 55 As to the² attaining unto the foundation record of that Eulmash 56 a favorable oracle by my oracle of a planet³ he⁴ produced. 57 My many people I sent 58 and to seek for that foundation record of Eulmash 59 three years in the trenches of Nebuchadnezzar 60 king of Babylon I dug, right and left, in front 61 and behind I searched and found not. 62 Thus they said to me: "This foundation record 63 we searched for and dis-

¹ *biru* is used in the inscriptions of the neo-Babylonian kings in the sense of "dream," "dream-oracle."

² For *ša* as a demonstrative see *AJSL.*, 1915, Vol. XXXI, 271 ff.

³ *bibbu*, "planet," is the technical meaning of *LU-BAD* here. The passage probably refers to prophecy by astrology and not by hepatascopy.

⁴ Shamash? The sun-god has no power over the movements of the planets according to the Babylonians. But he is a dream-god and here, as in Nbn. 8, VI, the king sees this astrological omen in a dream, hence Shamash is said to send this revelation.

covered not. A torrent of rain 64 there has been, a crevasse¹ it has made² and (this) we saw."

65 Thus I commanded them 66 as follows: "Excavations in that crevasse 67 make until you discover the foundation record of that crevasse." 69 That crevasse I excavated. 70 Narām-Sin the former king's foundation record of Eulmash the dwelling of Ishtar of Agade, 72 of Nanā and Anunit³ and the gods of Eulmash 74 they found and they told me. 75 My heart was glad, my face shone. 76 Upon that foundation record of Eulmash, 77 not a finger-breadth too high, not a finger-breadth beyond, 78 (that foundation record)⁴ the high altar and the shrine

Col. III 1 together with its⁵ two stage towers 2 I laid and secured its 3 brick. A grading I filled up for it. 4 Upon the surface of the ground I placed it.⁶ 5 That the foundation record of Eulmash be not forgotten 6 Eulmash I made and caused its work to be finished. 7 Lofty beams of cedar, produce of Mount Amanus, 8 for its roof I erected. Doors of *unbarked*-cedars 9 whose odor is sweet in its gates 10 I caused to stand. That temple like the day 11 I made brilliant. For Ishtar of Agade, 12 the great lady, my lady, for the life of my soul, 13 for the annihilation of mine enemy verily I have made it.

14 "O Ishtar of Agade, great lady, my lady, 15 before Sin the father thy begetter 16 may the good done unto Esagila, Ezida 17 Egišširgal, Ebarra, Eanna and Eulmash, 18 the mighty abodes of your divinities, be present on thy lips. 19 Like the heavens may their foundations be secure. 20 As for me Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 21 fearer of your mighty divinities, 22 may I enjoy to satiety the fulness (of life).⁷ Of Belshazzar, the first son, 23 offspring of my loins, lengthen the days. 24 May he have no sin."

25 What was written on an inscription in Agade.

26 As for Eulmash of Sippar-Anunit, 27 against which city and temple Sin king of the gods 28 became enraged, he summoned Senecherib

¹ I R, 69 has a long break here.

² *hipu*, a noun like *zēru*, etc., and distinct from *hip libbi hi-bi libbi*, "crushing of the heart," where we have to do with inf. *hipá*.

³ This passage does not necessarily identify Eulmash of Agade, temple of Innini-Ishtar, with Eulmash of Sippar-Anunit, temple of Anunit. The rebuilding of Eulmash is also described in Nbn. 1, III, 22-51, where it is called the temple of Anunit in Sippar-Anunit and appears to have been founded by the Kassite king Shagaraktishuriash, who is not mentioned in the above list (Asarhaddon, Asurbanipal, Nebuchadnezzar) of kings who had searched for Eulmash of Agade. If this Kassite king had repaired Eulmash of Agade Nabuna'id would surely have known about it. Sippar-Anunit is another city and its temple Eulmash a new foundation to Anunit (a name for the ancient Ishtar of Agade) to replace the lost Eulmash of Agade in the vicinity of Sippar. Note, however, that Nanā and Anunit are only specialized types of Innini-Ishtar.

⁴ These words seem to me a case of erroneous tautology from line 76.

⁵ The pronoun refers to Eulmash.

⁶ Or "more than formerly earth I placed for it." For *kaḫkar* genitive without ending, cf. *murūṣ kaḫkad*, IV, R, 3, b, 43.

⁷ *balātu* is omitted by the scribe; cf. above, col. II, 24; I, 33.

king of Assyria, 29 a violent foe; that city and temple he caused to go to destruction. 30 Now I Nabuna'd king of Babylon, 31 restorer of Esagila and Ezida, 32 in my legitimate reign, which Sin and Shamash love. 33 Anunit the mighty lady, my lady, dweller of Eulmash, 34 by the command of Sin king of the gods, the father her begetter 35 unto that city and temple graciously consented¹ to return. 36 In a dream during the night to build Eulmash 37 she caused me to behold a dream-(vision). My heart was glad, 38 my countenance brightened. I summoned 39 my numerous men. I excavated for the foundation record of that Eulmash, 40 and the statue with inscription of the name of Shagaraktishuriash 41 king of Babylon, a former king, in that trench 42 I read and thus 43 was it written on the statue with the inscription of his name, 44 as follows:

"Shagaraktishuriash, a faithful shepherd, 45 a revered prince, favorite of Shamash and Anunit am I. 46 When Shamash and Anunit for lordship of the Land 47 mentioned a name they filled my hands with the leading string of all peoples.

48 At that time Ebarra 49 the temple of Shamash of Sippar my lord and Eulmash 50 temple of Anunit of Sippar-Anunit my lady 51 whose walls since the time of Zabum because of old age had sagged—their walls I demolished. 52 Of their ruined foundations I took away their earth. 53 Their shrine(s) I preserved. Their plans I retained perfect. 55 I filled in their foundations with earth; the supporting wall(s) I restored. 56 Their walls in their places I embellished. 57 Their appearance I rendered more excellent than before. Forever, O Shamash and Anunit because of my precious deeds 59 may your hearts be glad. May they lengthen my days. 60 May they renew (my) life. Days of joy, month(s) of happiness, 61 years of prosperity may they grant (me) as a gift. 62 A judgment of precision and justice may I speak and may they cause peace to be always."

This was the inscription of the name of Shagaraktishuriash 64 king of Babylon, a former king, who made Eulmash of Sippar-Anunit.

65 Its ancient foundation record I saw. 66 Not a finger-breadth too high, not a finger-breadth too far beyond, upon the ancient foundation record 67 I laid its foundation and secured its brick. Of Eulmash I completed the work. 68 Like the day I made it bright. For Anunit, the mighty lady, my lady, 69 for the life of my soul, to destroy my enemy verily I have done it.

70 "O Anunit, mighty lady, in the presence of Sin, the father thy begetter, 71 may the good done unto Esagila, Ezida, Egišširgal, Ebarra, Eanna, 72 Eulmash, the mighty abode(s) of your (thy) divinities(y), be present on thy lips. Like the heavens may their 73 foundations be secure, and reverence for Sin lord of the gods in the heavens 74 in the

¹ *usalimu sic!*, with sing. subj., and not subjunctive.

hearts of his peoples let (these temples) cause to be. May they have not any defilement. May their foundations 75 be secure. May I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, worshiper of your mighty divinities, 76 fulness of life enjoy unto satiety; and of Belshazzar the first son, 77 offspring of my loins, lengthen ye his days. May he have no sin."

78 What was (written) on an inscription in Sippar-Anunit.

79 The deed(s) of Sin lord of the gods and of Ishtar, 80 (dwellers) in heaven and earth, which upon inscriptions¹ 81 of cylindrical shape² I have written that the peoples of distant times may hear.

COLLATION OF I RAW. 69

Col. I, 14. Read *SA* for *IR*. 19. *TI* at end is certain. 20. Read *SUḪUŠ* for *ŠAR*; at the end *li-ki-nu* is clear. 21. At the end *AN-IŠ-TAR*. 25. Read *KU* for *ŠU*. The fragment ll.10-26 has been placed much too high. 47. Read *KU* for *KI*. 52. Read *E* for *BIT*. 62. Read *BA* for *ŠU*.

Col. II, 4. Read *AM* for *IŠ*. 5. Read *RAT* for *RI*. 13. *LU* for *MA*. 14. Read *ta-a-bi e-ma*; the last sign is clearly *KÁ*=*bābu*. 16. At end *ZI-MEŠ* is clear. 19. *AŠ* is clear before *ni-ip-bi*; i.e., *ina* for *i-na*. 31. *IM* is clearly written before *TUK*. 37. Much more space should be allowed before *KIŠ*. The cylinder really has *KIŠ KUR-KUR*, hence *KIŠ* is here employed for *kiššat*. 43. *LUL* for *ḪAR*. 51. *AŠ* for *U*. Before *KUN*, *IŠ* is clear. After *KUN* the sign is *GALU*, not *LUGAL*.

Col. III, 18. First sign is *DI* not *KI*. After *MI* the sign *RU* is clear. At end *A*. 20. The cylinder actually omits *ŠUR* after *TI*. 25. Read *a-na be-lu-ul māti šu-um*. 32. The cylinder seems to have *suḫ-ma parakka-šu-nu*. 34. *KI-DI* is clear. *GA* for *BI*. 35. *MIR* is clear. Read *NU* after *ŠU*. 37. *šu-ku-[ra]-a-ti* is clear. 38. The cylinder omits *UD-MU*. 40. Read *SA* for *GA* and *LI* for *DU*. 43. After

¹ Since all three duplicates are made of baked clay (one prism and two cylinders) *aban asumittu* must refer to these and hence can apply to clay prisms and cylinders as well as to stone steles and metal slabs. In *VAB.*, IV, 246, 28, note, I drew the definition too closely. In addition to the passages there cited, cf. perhaps *dup-pi a-su-mi (?)-it(?) -ti ša Bālu māš šurrāi*, "Tablet of the inscription of Ba'al of Tyre." Here *asumittu*, if the word really stood in this passage, would refer to a stele copied on to the clay tablet Esarhaddon; Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 12, 20. In King, *Boundary Stones*, 18, 26, *a-su-mi-it-tu* (also without determ. *abnu*) refers to the stone stele on which the contents of three clay tablets had been copied.

² *galata*, "round," "cylindrical." Possibly a noun *galalu*, "ball," "roll," "cylinder," Aramaic גלל, "cobblestone," Hebrew גל, "heap of stones." *kaspu gal-la-la*, "silver rolls," Strassmaier, *Nbk.* 12, 1; *kaspu ka-al-la-la*, "silver in rolls," Strassmaier, *Cyr.* 376, 6 (= *CT.*, 22, No. 182; cf. Martin, *Lettres*, p. 123). Hence *kaspu kullu, kálu, kalá*, Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 912, not "silver refined" (Ungnad), or "in foils, thin plates" (Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 363), from *kalálu*, "be thin," but "in rolls or cylinders or balls," from *galálu*.

te-me-en-šù the signs *la-be-ri* are clear. 45. *MUH* for *Ù*. 46. *ú-kin li-ib-na-at-su* is clear. 58. At end *la-li-e*. 63. *UD-KIB-NUN-KI* is clear. 64. *mi-ni-* is clear; *ša* is omitted.

CORRECTION TO COL. III, 36

The phrase *ina šat māši* really contains the word *šattu*, "duration," and not the emphatic pronoun *šat*, as I suggested in *AJSL*, XXXI, 278, n. 1. The Sumerian *une*, *una*=*šattu* is connected with the word *ene*, "fulness, duration of time." [For the original sense of *ene*, *en*, see *Sum. Gr.*, p. 113.] Note *e-ne-ra*=*ana šatti*, Šamašsumukin, *Bilingual* 30 and *e-ne-šú*=*ana ša-at-ti*(?), *SBH*, XXXVIII, 13. On the other hand it is gratifying to find names of men composed with the demonstrative *šat*, a fact which justifies the hope "Masculine names with *šāt* will probably occur as we progress in our studies" (*AJSL*, XXXI, 278, n. 1). Note the name *Ša-at-^{ih}Sin* (*CT*, 32, 34 II 19) son of Abanamtag.